

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 170841

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (MISNUMBERED PARA 2, MISSING TEXT
PARA 3C))

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UN, PFOR

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S JULY 14 SPEECH ON UN.

1. SUMMARY AND ACTION REQUESTED.

ON JULY 14 SECRETARY KISSINGER DELIVERED A MAJOR ADDRESS BEFORE AN AMERICAN AUDIENCE IN MILWAUKEE REGARDING BROAD GOALS OF US FOREIGN POLICY AND US PARTICIPATION IN THE UN. WE WISH TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ASSURE THAT THIS SPEECH IS GIVEN CAREFUL ATTENTION BY GOVERNMENT LEADERS, PARTICULARLY THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR COUNTRIES' POLICIES AT THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY (SEPTEMBER
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1-12), AT THE SUBSEQUENT REGULAR 30TH UNGA SESSION, AND AT PRECEDING REGIONAL CONFERENCES AND CONSULTATIONS. IT IS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE IN INVITING THE ATTENTION OF HOST GOVERNMENTS TO THIS SPEECH TO MAINTAIN A CAREFUL BALANCE BETWEEN

OUR CURRENT CONCERNS WITH TRENDS IN THE UN SYSTEM (BLOC VOTING, EFFORTS TO EXCLUDE MEMBER STATES, EFFORTS TO "LEGISLATE" A NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER) AND OUR CONTINUING CONVICTION THAT IT HAS AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY BOTH IN THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND IN THE EVOLUTION OF NEW ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS.

EXCEPT AT POSTS WHERE RELATIONSHIPS MAKE IT INAPPROPRIATE, CHIEFS OF MISSION SHOULD CALL ON LEADING OFFICIALS OF THE HOST COUNTRIES AND INVITE THEIR ATTENTION TO THE SPEECH STRESSING THE POINTS WHICH FOLLOW. WITH SENIOR FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS, THEY SHOULD ALSO INDICATE THAT SPEECH OUTLINES CURRENT US ATTITUDE TOWARD UN BUT DOES NOT ADDRESS IN DETAIL THE ISSUES BEFORE THE TWO FALL SESSIONS WHICH WE WILL BE PREPARED SHORTLY TO DISCUSS WITH APPROPRIATE HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

2. FYI. SECRETARY'S JULY 14 SPEECH MADE IN PART AS A RESPONSE TO CONTINUING PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL CONCERN WITH PRESENT TRENDS IN THE UNITED NATIONS. CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO SUSPEND US CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNEYCO AND RECENT SIMILAR HOUSE ACTION ON ILO DEMONSTRATE CURRENT US DISQUIET WHICH COULD BE SERIOUSLY AGGRAVATED BY EVENTS THIS FALL. A SHARP CONFRONTATION OVER DC VERSUS LDC DIFFERENCES AT THE 7TH SPECIAL SESSION, A SERIOUS PURSUIT OF THE JULY 15 RESOLUTION OF THE JIDDA ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTERS CALLING MEETING TO SEEK TO EXCLUDE ISRAEL FROM THE UNITED NATIONS, ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, AND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES, OR ASSEMBLY ACTION ENDORSING OR ENCOURAGING NORTH KOREA'S AMBITIONS TO CALL FOR US TROOP WITHDRAWAL, WEAKEN THE EXISTING ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS AND UNIFY KOREA UNDER ITS AEGIS COULD HAVE SERIOUS IMPACT ON THE US ATTITUDE TOWARD PARTICIPATION IN THE ASSEMBLY. HENCE, IT APPEARED TIMELY SIX WEEKS IN ADVANCE OF THE FALL SESSIONS WHILE MEMBER STATES WERE ADDRESSING THEIR OWN POLICIES AND REGIONAL GROUP POLICIES IN THE UN TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE CONSIDER THE UN SYSTEM TO BE POTENTIALLY ENDANGERED DESPITE THE PARTICULARLY VALUABLE ROLE IT IS CONFIDENTIAL

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PLAYING IN PEACEKEEPING AND IN THE MANY FUNCTIONAL AREAS OF THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE POTENTIALLY VALUABLE ROLE IT CAN PLAY IN WORKING TOWARD AGREEMENT IN CURRENT ECONOMIC ISSUES. END FYI.

3. MAIN THEMES:

-- THE UNITED NATIONS CAN PLAY A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN A WORLD OF INCREASING INTERDEPENDENCE -- BUT ONLY IF RECENT DISTURBING TRENDS ARE REVERSED AND A NEW SPIRIT AND PRACTICE INTRODUCED.

-- SECRETARY'S STATEMENT FOUNDED ON CONVICTION THAT

UN CONTINUES TO BE AN IMPORTANT FOCUS FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION BOTH IN FIELD OF MAINTAINING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND IN HANDLING GLOBAL PROBLEMS WITH WHICH ONLY WORLD BODY CAN COPE. (SPEECH CONTAINS NUMEROUS POSITIVE REFERENCES REGARDING OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE UNITED NATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN INADEQUATELY REFLECTED IN US PRESS COVERAGE. YOU SHOULD THEREFORE EMPHASIZE THESE POSITIVE ASPECTS.)

-- STATEMENT EMPHASIZES THE HIGH PRIORITY OF PEACE-KEEPING IN AREAS OF CONFLICT SUCH AS THE MIDDLE EAST AND CYPRUS AND THE URGENT NEED TO HALT THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND REVERSE THE ARMS RACE AMONG MAJOR POWERS.

-- STATEMENT IS PART OF A CONCERTED AND LONG-RANGE EFFORT OF THE UNITED STATES TO PLACE OUR RELATIONSHIP AND OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE DEVELOPING WORLD IN MULTILATERAL FORUMS ON A NEW FOOTING. IT, THEREFORE, SHOULD BE VIEWED AS PART OF A SERIES OF MAJOR STATEMENTS, INCLUDING THOSE AT KANSAS CITY AND THE OECD IN PARIS (WITH WHICH POSTS ARE ALREADY FAMILIAR).

-- SECRETARY STATES THAT WE INTEND TO CONTRIBUTE PRACTICAL PROPOSALS DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE MUTUAL BENEFIT AND WHICH COULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR SERIOUS WORK BETWEEN DCS AND LDCS. WITHIN USG, WORK IS PROCEEDING INTENSIVELY TO DEVELOP SUCH PROPOSALS ALONG THE LINES EARLIER OUTLINED.

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-- (IF ASKED, YOU SHOULD SAY THAT FACT THAT HE DID NOT FURTHER ELABORATE ON THE SPECIFIC DETAILS OF POSSIBLE PROPOSALS WHICH WE INTEND TO PRESENT AT THE OPENING OF THE 7TH SPECIAL SESSION IN NO WAY REFLECTS ANY SHIFT IN DIRECTION ON OUR PART FROM THAT WHICH WAS INDICATED BY THE SECRETARY IN HIS PARIS AND OECD SPEECHES, WHERE SOME OF OUR APPROACHES WERE OUTLINED. THIS SPEECH WAS DESIGNED TO BE A SCENE-SETTER, NOT A VEHICLE FOR NEW INITIATIVES.)

-- IT IS BECAUSE WE TAKE THIS BASIC CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH THAT WE FEEL IT IS NECESSARY TO SPEAK FRANKLY ABOUT PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE DEVELOPED IN RECENT YEARS AND WHICH, AS SECRETARY'S SPEECH POINTS OUT, COULD THREATEN THE FUTURE CAPABILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OUR POSSIBILITY OF COOPERATING WITHIN IT.

-- A) TO EXCLUDE COUNTRIES FROM PARTICIPATION IN UN ACTIVITIES BY MEANS OTHER THAN THOSE PROVIDED IN ARTICLES 5 AND 6 OF UN CHARTER (WHICH SPECIFY SUSPENSION OR EX-PULSION MUST BE RECOMMENDED TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY SECURITY COUNCIL) BECAUSE THEIR POLICIES ARE DISLIKED, COULD

THREATEN THE INTEGRITY AND SURVIVAL OF THE BODY WHICH EXCLUDES THEM. ARBITRARY IMPOSITION OF SUCH A DECISION OVER THE OPPOSITION OF MEMBER STATES WHICH PROVIDE VITAL SUPPORT TO THE ORGANIZATION COULD JEOPARDIZE THE CONTINUING VIABILITY OF THE UN. FURTHERMORE, IF THE UN IS

TO DO SERIOUS BUSINESS AND TO COME TO GRIPS REALISTICALLY WITH IMPORTANT PROBLEMS, IT WOULD BE ILLOGICAL TO EXCLUDE FROM PARTICIPATION COUNTRIES WHOSE POLICIES THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS TRYING TO INFLUENCE.

-- B) IF A UN SPECIALIZED AGENCY IS TRANSFORMED INTO A POLITICAL WEAPON, IT LOSES THE ABILITY TO COPE WITH ITS FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL AND SOCIAL TASKS AND US PUBLIC OPINION WOULD SEE NO PURPOSE IN SUPPORTING SUCH AN AGENCY.

--C) IF WE CANNOT BEGIN TO MAKE A TURNING FROM PAST PATTERNS OF CONFRONTATION AND LAY THE CONDITIONS OF REASONED DISCOURSE AND CONCRETE PROGRESS, THE US AND OTHER
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NATIONS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED WITH THESE ISSUES MAY HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO LOOK TO OTHER WAYS AND FORA IN WHICH TO DEAL WITH THEM. WE THINK IT REASONABLE TO ASK THAT OUR OWN SERIOUS AND NEW EFFORT TOWARDS COOPERATION BE RECIPROCATED. THE WORLD COMMUNITY CANNOT MAKE PROGRESS ON ITS MOST PRESSING PROBLEMS, IN THE UN OR ELSEWHERE, UNLESS THERE IS A CONCERTED AND CONSCIOUS EFFORT TO REVERSE SOME OF THE PRACTICES WHICH HAVE RECENTLY DEVELOPED IN UNITED NATIONS BODIES, AND THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT BE ABLE, BECAUSE OF CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC, TO BE FORTHCOMING IN THE FACE OF VILIFICATION AND CONFRONTATION. (AMBASSADORS SHOULD MAKE STRONG APPEALS TO FOREIGN MINISTERS TO TAKE DIRECT AND PERSONAL INTEREST IN SEEING TO IT THAT HOST COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVES AT UN BODIES MAKE THE NECESSARY EFFORTS TO CONCENTRATE ON AREAS OF COMMON CONCERN AND, IF APPROPRIATE, TO AVOID GETTING COMMITTED PRIOR TO THE TWO SESSIONS TO RIGID POSITIONS WHICH ARE THEN SOMETIMES MAINTAINED AT UN SESSIONS BY NARROW BLOC LEADERSHIP. DECLARATION OF WOMEN'S CONFERENCE AT MEXICO CITY WAS MOST RECENT EXAMPLE OF A BLOC DRAFT ON WHICH SPONSORS REFUSED TO NEGOTIATE CHANGES.)

-- SECRETARY'S SPEECH, WHILE FOCUSSED ON THESE AREAS OF CONCERN, IS AT THE SAME TIME AN APPEAL TO WORK CLOSELY WITH ALL OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS BOTH ON THE KEY ISSUES BEFORE THE TWO ASSEMBLY SESSIONS AND ON THE METHODS OF RESOLVING THEM. WE ARE ALREADY IN TOUCH AT ECOSOC WITH NUMEROUS OTHER NATIONS' REPRESENTATIVES IN ORDER TO DEFINE ECONOMIC ISSUES WHICH THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION SHOULD ADDRESS AND WILL WISH TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THESE ISSUES WITH HOST GOVERNMENT WHEN THIS PROCESS IS FURTHER ADVANCED. MEANTIME, WE ARE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE MAIN POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL ISSUES OF INTEREST TO BOTH

COUNTRIES AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY (SEE SEPCIRTEL). WE INVITE AT THE SAME TIME CONSIDERED HOST GOVERNMENT VIEWS OF SECRETARY'S STATEMENT ON WHICH POSTS MAY OFFER FURTHER CLARIFICATION AND DISCUSSION.

4. SINCE THERE HAS BEEN SPECULATION AND QUESTIONING ON WHAT SECRETARY'S JULY 14 SPEECH MEANS IN TERMS OF US REACTION IF ISRAEL IS SUSPENDED OR EXCLUDED FROM GENERAL ASSEMBLY, POSTS MAY, IF ASKED, USE FOLLOWING ANSWER GIVEN
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BY SECRETARY TO PRESS ON JULY 15 IN MINNEAPOLIS NEWS BRIEFING:

"WELL, WE HAVE NOT SAID EXACTLY WHAT WE WILL DO IF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS IS VIOLATED IN OUR VIEW. WE BELIEVE THAT THE EXPULSION OF MEMBER STATES BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WHICH IS A RESPONSIBILITY UNDER THE CHARTER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, WOULD BE AN ACT WHICH WOULD AFFECT AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THAT BODY. TO WHAT DEGREE AND IN WHAT MANNER REMAINS TO BE DETERMINED. BUT WE BELIEVE THAT THE CHARTER SHOULD BE STRICTLY OBSERVED AND SHOULD NOT BE USED FOR PUNITIVE PURPOSES THAT ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH IT." KISSINGER

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